Cyrus the Achaemenid

On the authenticity of Pasargadae inscriptions

January the 4th, 2021   Khashayar Bahari, Tehran

Clues from CMa Akkadian as well as CMc Elamite versions are adduced as evidence of their authenticity. An evolutionary course of progress is detected in Akkadian rendering of the term "Achaemenid", rarely seen to be pursued in Darius and Xerxes' inscriptions in the same manner as that of Cyrus, except for two cases within each, being identified as case-uses in an e.g. golden/silver plaques text. A link of CMc Elamite version with the seal-legend of Cyrus I is found to be employed just once in post-Cyrus era in the first text of Darius, DBa, to be abandoned thereafter (even in DB). DBa reflects the same Royal tradition as of CMa, to be characteristically extended in DB within a year. Combined Archaeological as well as Architectural-military schedules evidence of Cyrus leads to conclude that he has managed to finish Royal complex at Pasargadae within his lifetime, i.e. with nothing left there to be completed later by Darius who would have never added reliefs/inscriptions in his name. Neither physical nor calligraphic evidence of Bisitun seems denying an earlier use of 12 OP signs of CMa, a seal-text of a charismatic conqueror (of a number of "cuneiform-civilized" states) who would not have left Pasargadae free of his own Royal name and title to be inscribed later by a successor. Achaemenid is identified as a parallel choice of Cyrus with Pasargadae, and Achaemenes as a mythical index of a namesake clan.

Contents

1-Introduction

It lies at the core of Iranian historiography as whether the founder of Persian Empire, Cyrus the great, was an Achaemenid according to "his" inscriptions at Pasargadae, or that the term was just that of Darius' clan who also engraved those inscriptions in the name of Cyrus to ensure legitimacy. The latter has gained a gradual acceptance among scholars in recent years, some of whom no longer consider Cyrus as Achaemenid and rather merely as a Persian who at best assumed a link by marriage. Now it remains to indicate whether Cyrus was an Achaemenid at all as appeared undisputed in the early decades of modern scholarship. Even if Darius was a full usurper, he would have never needed to engrave a number of identical fake inscriptions at Pasargadae years after securing his kingship claim. The only juncture any real or false link with Cyrus would have aided him was through (and at most at) the end of troublesome "one and the same year" (*hamahayāyā Ɵarda*) after which he had become victorious. Even then and after suppression of 19 rebellions against Persian hegemony, he still refers to Cambyses in DB10 as "from the same family of ours" (*amāxam taumāyā*); while without any direct inheritor of Cyrus alive and all the realm in his hands, it would be more plausible for an assumed "usurper" not to disclose the link as such whatsoever and just introduce himself as the founder of Achaemenids. Suppression would no doubt be continued for anyone who still questioned his legitimacy. It seems unlikely for a hypothetical Darius of modern scholarship (an adversary of Cyrus and murderer of at least one of his two sons) to still describe himself from the same family of predecessors (as he do). Less probable is to fabricate inscriptions at Pasargadae with no relevance (as he didn't), namely when everything worked well for him. Engraving allegedly fake inscriptions there would also be inconsistent with the prevailing theory, according to which Darius explicitly refers to invention of Old Persian script (OP) at Paragraph 70 of Bisitun (DB70): It seems impossible for an "inventor" to undermine very same invention through fabrication; namely to pretend that Cyrus was a forerunner of him in using OP script merely to

convey to his addressee that "I'm an Achaemenid"; to be interpreted as if it was read by Darius himself as "Cyrus was an Achaemenid, [from the same family of mine]". This is in contrast to former's reverse course of assertion earlier in Bisitun where he states "Cambyses by name from *our family* was king here". However, nothing can be proved or disproved merely on these lines, as every evidence seems in favor of the rival theory. New evidence is needed to leave them as secondary. Today a consensus is formed on an updated version of a theory once put forward by W. Hinz who with his translation of DB70, concluded that OP script was nonexistent when the monument started to be engraved. This provoked scholars to deny authenticity of Pasargadae inscriptions and identifying them as a later work of Darius, who has labelled Cyrus unwarrantedly as "Achaemenid" *of his own.*

2-Clues from CMa Old Persian version

Cyrus, king "of [the city of] Anshan" in his cylinder-text, and "of [the land of] Anshan" in Ur brick-legend, refers to himself at Pasargadae as "Achaemenid king" in two extant trilingual inscriptions (CMa), and "Great king, an Achaemenid" in a single extant bilingual legend (CMc).

𒀸𒈾𒈥𒋼 𒁕𒀭𒍑𒊬𒋼 𒐐𒍝𒁲𒌋

𒆠𒈾𒌋 𒐕𒐐𒈪𒀸𒁲𒍝𒈾𒌋

2-1: Old Persian version of CMa

But an alleged chronological precedence of Bisitun leaves these as a later addition, thereby their authenticity undergoes a serious questionability.

It is well known that none of the two extant copies of CMa match exactly to the text above, as each has an orthographical error. Two in just 4 lines, while almost all other OP inscriptions of Darius and Xerxes are error free. This points to an early phase of engraving inscriptions not by well-experienced scribes. Errors are just limited to OP versions, and the two others are both free of scribal blunders and have been engraved quite maturely. The two OP versions cannot even be described as "nicely written"; a

nice new for its signs (and not necessarily a script) to be identified as recently invented. The issue is more apparent in the palace-S copy, the first of the two extant copies of CMa. Its frame-setting is elementary, as each three version has its own rectangular frame free of attaching lines; while the second palace-P copy is more regular with a single rectangular frame for the whole, being later partitioned into three distinct parts for each version, with two blank rectangular spaces in between (Nylander 1967, 166ff).

These are clues to an evolutionary rate of progress, with a possible time-lapse gap of 10 years, consistent with and implied from Cyrus' program between palace-S and palace-P projects; in contrast to a sequential or simultaneous project of engraving identical inscriptions by an assumed usurper, each case of which would have given rise to a set of similarly inscribed copies.

As Nylander shows, CMa had been once inscribed on at least 18 (or at most up to 24 or even 30) locations in Gate palace (8), Palace-S (8), and palace-P (at least 2) on symmetry grounds of Achaemenid art (Nylander 1967,156; Stronach 2017, 339). This short text was Cyrus' Royal seal to be inscribed on appropriate spots within his palatial complex. This is the way within which the OP scripts was born, namely through a Royal seal, and not abruptly through a huge text like Bisitun, as is usually assumed. OP script had already lapsed its infancy when Bisitun was started to be inscribed (spring of 520; its OP version ca. 518 B.C).

Cyrus invoked Akkadian and Elamite scripts as well: the first maybe through Assyrian scribes after 546 BC; as while most parts of Assyria was already within his realm after fall of Media at 550 BC (with a very short time-interval at his disposal between 550 and 547 BC when he started his major Asia-minor campaign), it seems unlikely for him just to "visit" Nineveh without a further military conquest. A pre-539 Assyrian participation is almost proved by the preponderance of Assyrian art elements in palace-S stone-reliefs, rendering a parallel participation of both artisans and scribes quite probable. Since the winged genius relief of Gate palace, which once included yet another copy of CMa at its uppermost part, has in addition to its wings of Assyrian origin an Egyptian-inspired Phoenician crown of the Levant, the full-fledged relief (and its lost copies) should be an

early "post-Babylonian (conquest)" and the palace itself a pre-Babylonian contribution. Thus total of 16 copies of CMa once engraved within these two have been inscribed with a somewhat elementary fashion of the single extant copy of palace-S. As palace-P was completed at extreme late phase of the reign of Cyrus, the two remaining copies of CMa, of which a single one still stands *in situ*, were once inscribed more sophisticated, as is seen in the extant copy. This elapse of half a decade wasn't still enough for scribes of OP version to avoid committing a further error, as this copy has an error as well, this time of a different kind. This shows that probably whole of the original (at least) 18 copies included their own errors, maybe with the mean number of one per each, and that scribes weren't considerably active in intervening years. Cyrus was apparently not so active in engraving inscriptions other than CMa in Pasargadae and elsewhere in Persia (contrary to his Babylonian trend due to land's significant literary tradition). Engraving earliest copies of CMa in palace-S dated back to pre-Babylonian years due to simplicity of the Royal title, "the king". "Cyrus the Achaemenid" is consistent with Old-Iranian tradition as is reflected in Avestan references to "Zoroaster the Spitamid" (Mallowan, 1972, 2; [first noted by Nylander 1967]). It was after the Babylonian conquest that king employs the elaborate title of "Great king" in four original copies of his last inscription at palace-P (CMc).

3-Physical evidence of originality

It looks that motivation behind introducing a new script was originally nothing more than Cyrus' will to inscribe his Royal seal on door-jams; as some clues show that the very text of CMa might have played a role in assigning specific signs (Hallock 1970). Further clues might be of relevance as well. Two adjacent words of the legend, "Cyrus" and "king", begin with OP signs of 𒀹 and 𒀻 respectively; the latter being a doubled version of the former (the only two-wedged sign of OP script). They correspond in Elamite to numerals 11 and 22 respectively. This might be nothing more than an evidence for the Elamite scribes involvement in assigning OP signs who also avoided further assigning of 2-wedged signs so as not to be confused with their own script's

signs. The simpler legend "King Cyrus" fits for a yet to be seen Royal seal, justifying the assignments even more.

CMa OP version includes 24 syllables (with 84 wedges), giving 3.5 for a mean-value of wedges for each syllable, a minimum for any meaningful text. For total of 36 OP signs (with 135 wedges), this gives a mean-value of 3.77, which is typical of every routine OP text, as one gets exactly the same number in three first lines of OP DBA (73 signs with 274 wedges). Thus it seems that some economical considerations have been respected while assigning wedged signs to be used for the first time in CMa. Compared with other OP texts, the only decisive factor for minimal mean-value of CMa is the very cuneiform rendering of the name Cyrus; as other three words of the text are most common in all other inscriptions, and it is the very Royal name that has been rendered with signs enjoying extreme brevity of wedges (two *u*-inherent signs of the name are only "lower than four"-wedged signs among total of 11 *i*- and *u*- inherent ones; though the two are among low-frequently used syllables in a typical OP text, and thus should have been assigned normally as 4 or 5 wedged-signs and not as 3-wedged). The apparent sign-choosing pattern fits for a compact Royal-legend to be inscribed within same brief text, though multiply.

Apart from its big signs' size, the geometrical setting of CMa is almost unique as well among all trilingual inscriptions, as it is only there that three texts have been inscribed regularly one over another, while in other cases they appear side by side (Tacara DPa and Hadish XPe, each multiple times). This arrangement works only for short texts, as the more the text's volume, the more irregular becomes its arrangement (except for XPc of Tacara, due to being inscribed on a similar surface). A case of strict similarity with CMa is trilingual legend of SDa with simplest legend "I'm Darius, the king" (logogram for king):

3-1: Seal of Darius with its trilingual SDa text

4-The evidence of Akkadian and Elamite versions of CMa and CMc

These clues from OP version of CMa justify further inspections in other two to find a possible cuneiform evidence denoting a chronological gap between Pasargadae and rest of OP inscriptions. Two such points may be inferred from CMa Akkadian and CMc Elamite versions, capable of providing a basis to claim their authenticity:

(A): The term "Achaemenid" is brought with the same cuneiform sign-"spelling" in CMa and CMc, rarely to be seen elsewhere (twice in DPh & DNa and XPb & XPe; in latter two added with a sign already used previously). In CMa the syllable *nis̆* is used as follows:

   a-ḫa-ma-nis̆-s̆i-i ;

while the same term has undergone a single or two-fold syllabic split (through a Bisitun interlude) in later inscriptions of Darius, leading in DPa to *a-ḫa-ma-an-ni-is̆-s̆i-i.*

The key syllable is a doubly adjacent vertical angle-sign in CMa Akkadian version:

The last line of palace-S copy; third sign from right

The term is attested in most of the later Akkadian versions in a different, developed manner (leading to 2nd type above, with frequent fluctuations to other forms to be discussed); starting from Bisitun, where it is rendered as *a-ḫa-ma-ni-is̆-i* :

4-1: Upper right corner of DB Akk., with last two signs of the term in middle of the 2nd line (photo S.A. Parian)

It is ultimately developed into above second version in a later text of Darius, as in 5th line of DPa (Tacara). The term "Achaemenid" is absent in monolingual DPg, among series of inscriptions engraved on Persepolis southern terrace, firsts of Darius at the site, among firsts after Bisitun (perhaps only DSaa predates the series, see below).
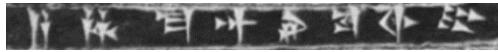

4-2: The term "Achaemenid" in two mirror-image versions of DPa. Full transliteration (C. Walker 1987, 51):

Note a common feature of DB and DPa in invoking the same "new" *ni* sign compared with CMa. While DB rendering further develops in later inscriptions, the essence of development from CMa to DB is the omission of a half-pair of "common" adjacent consonant *š* and its inclusion just once within *iš* sign. Though DB rendering enjoys its own originality in compactness, the feature specific to CMa is that it is there a sign is rarely repeated elsewhere (twice in Darius period, both within a specific context of limited available space), while both two penultimate signs of DB have been employed later for rendering the same term. It is in fact the same two penultimate signs in both CMa and DB that are decisive for our conclusion. Given two different sets of signs, only those of the second of which have been evolved within later developments to a larger set of four signs with two originals still involved; while within first set (two signs of CMa), the first member (a full syllabic sign) appears negligibly in later developments (twice in Darius' and Xerxes' texts each, within specific cases of limited surface) and the second reappears within a developed larger set. We would have to assume that sign-using has experienced an evolutionary line of progress beginning at DB, with slight, frequent "mutations" to other forms due to scribes' taste or other factors imposed by inscriptions' surface area. If according to usual theory CMa was engraved by a Darius order, the term should have been assumed a form like that in DB or in one of its immediate sequels (due to

alleged Darius' haste to engrave forged inscriptions in name of Cyrus). But the form reappears twice not sooner than DPh and DNa, and no more then up to two further cases of Xerxes. With a clear precedence of DPh over DNa, it appears that the assumed attempt of Darius makes sense just simultaneous with the former, namely when pairs of golden /silver plaques were buried beneath Apadana Terrace ca. 510 BC. Though this fits with the current consensus of scholars on 510 for Darius attempt (on different grounds albeit), then he had already secured legitimacy for a decade and such a poor measure would be of no relevance (510 is based on an assumed date of palace-P reliefs with their CMc text, which were actually finished within Cyrus' lifetime; sec. **5**). Any such attempt would have followed a rendering of the term as of Bisitun, with an added sign at most, while in practice a totally different form appears at Pasargadae. The most appropriate expected form compatible with "usurper" theory is that of DSaa (below). Inscribing a series of "fake" inscriptions at a later date, e.g. simultaneous with DNa (involving 2nd CMa-like rendering of Darius period) would not have been of value in further strengthening his claim to kingship. DNa has been engraved close to Darius' death with Akkadian version at the left flank edge in an incommodious compact surface of his tomb elevation, justifying to employ most compact cuneiform renderings. The CMa "problem" was the reverse with its 90 cm span available for a full line, involving one and half a word.
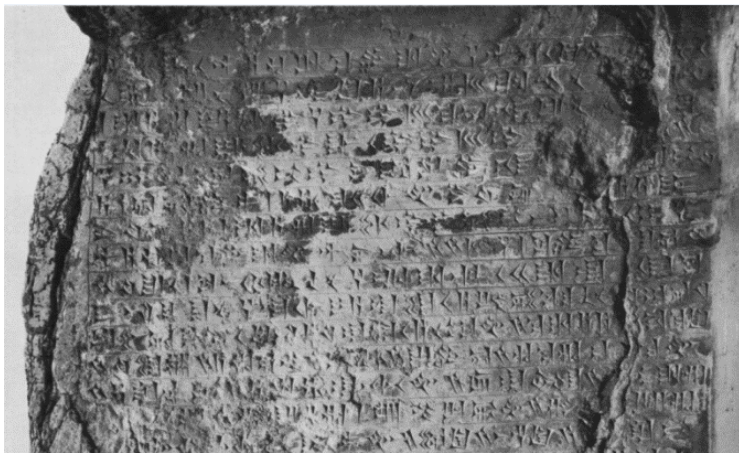
4-3: The Akkadian version of DNa at the left-flank edge of Darius' tomb elevation. The 6th line involves the same rendering of the term "Achaemenid" as in CMa (Schmidt, Persepolis III)

CMa with its single full syllabic sign for the term "Achaemenid" fits more to late Neo-Babylonian/Neo-Assyrian than to early Achaemenid calligraphy, as the sign is used rarely in later inscriptions as well. **Yet the usage of the same sign in CMc and rarely everywhere else is decisive and shows that Pasargadae enjoyed its own independent "scribal school" a generation ahead of Darius'.** Coupled with the second evidence in CMc Elamite version, the Darius' "conspiracy theory" finds no room.

The name is rendered in the same "developed" manner in DE (bellow, 3rd) as well as in three texts of Xerxes at Van (its 14th line, singly showed below, 1st), on the robe of his relief at Hadish (below 2nd, rotated 90 degrees counterclockwise, right of the bottom line), and at the end of XE (Alvand). Both DE and XE texts end in "Achaemenid".

4-4: 14th line of the Akkadian version of Van inscription of Xerxes

4-5: Akk. V. of the (counterclockwise rotated) legend, Xerxes' robe, Hadish (bottom line; photo by the Author)

 4-6: "Achaemenian" at the end of DE Akkadian version (taken from a moulage)

The name is attested in the same way as Bisitun (with a substituted sign at the end) in the monolingual DSaa in Akkadian (beginning of the 3rd line, of the total of 14 lines), reading *a-ḫa-ma-ni-iš-ši* (most expected form for a "Darius ordered" CMa):

4-7: First 3 lines of DSaa 1st tablet, with most links with Bisitun, plausibly the first followed it

In XPe and XPb we see a rare developed version of Pasargadae, with an added "late" *an* sign (as observed above) after the *ma* and before the *nišʹ* signs:

4-8: The same term in the Akkadian version of XPe appeared several times in Hadish

It is exactly rendered as CMa in DPh, Apadana foundation plaque; perhaps the first trilingual inscription of Darius "over" the Persepolis Terrace (middle of the 2nd line):

4-9: Top of the lower third part of a golden plaque of Apadana foundation with an Akkadian version of DPh

But it is at CMa that the *ḫa* sign appears in its full cuneiform shape as ; namely with a pair of inner-low and outer-high vertical (rightward) angle-signs, the latter characterized by being more deeply chiseled. On the golden plaque the sign is engraved elementarily with two similarly chiseled angle-signs, both in lower half spot. On this manner, the form appeared in DSaa (4-7 above) is more concordant with the full cuneiform shape developed from DB. Thus in spite of an apparent similarity, this difference makes CMa and DPh to belong to different scribal "generations".

DPh is simultaneous with DH of exactly the same text, also engraved on golden and silver plaques, wherein the sign is inscribed more in a CMa fashion with an up-down discrimination of angle signs, though still being elementarily chiseled as the same:

4-10: The Akkadian version of DH (middle of the 3rd line)

This rendering is seen just twice in Darius period either within identical texts inscribed on plaques or at his tomb inscription both with limited effective surfaces, compelling the scribes to use most compact renderings compatible with cuneiform syllabic format; as is also seen in using logograms in OP version on plaques (Term's location is broken in

DSab on Darius statue with its compact space). These two fall outside of the normal evolutionary line elucidated above, as they belong to specific case-uses.

CMa is a forerunner of all Achaemenid inscriptions on its signs' size, with a clear gap with the second group including DB (OP, 1st column), brought below "to scale":

CMa and upper part of 1st column of DB OP version "to scale"

In CMa a very compact form is adopted for the term in spite of its vast area, pointing to an intentional choice there independent of any imposed consideration. Putting all these together, it can be asserted that the form appeared in total of two different texts at Pasargadae was by no means as common afterwards, in Darius period in particular when it was adopted merely in rare cases of limited or compact surface areas, not a peculiarity of CMa inscriptions. Thus from this viewpoint, it seems unlikely that all the same shape CMa inscriptions were engraved by Darius who would have not followed a form actually appeared in Pasargadae.

(B): F. Valla (2011, 278) finds in CMc Elamite version a link with the Neo-Elamite seal-legend of "Cyrus the Anshanite" (grandfather of Cyrus the Great), impressed several times on Persepolis Elamite clay tablets (PFS 93*). The single line of CMc on the robe of Cyrus' relief at palace-P reads:

^{BE}é *ku-raš* ^{BE}é SUNKI *ir-šá-ir-ra* ^{BE}é *ha-ak-ka$_4$-man-nu-ši-ya-ra*   (*hakkamannušiara*)

"Cyrus, the Great king, an Achaemenid".

With a very rare (Neo-Elamite)–*ra* ending followed the lineal designation of Cyrus, the phrase literary means "Cyrus, the Great king, [who is] an Achaemenid [as is uttered]. It is inscribed neatly on the left wing of the robe of Cyrus' relief at palace–P with its

Akkadian counterpart at right. The (8-wedged) –ra sign is seen at the uppermost part of the Elamite version to the left of the relief (highlighted below):

4-11: Rotated 90 degrees clockwise of the upper half of the CMc Elamite version (to the left of the robe below):
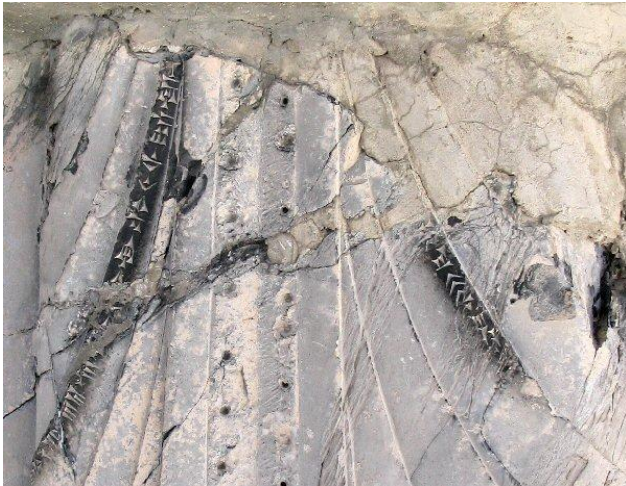
4-12: Two divergently inscribed Elamite and Akkadian versions of CMc on the robe of Cyrus at palace-P

Its last syllable, namely –ra (a delocutive suffix as Valla defines) here terminally attached to the term "Achaemenid", occurs also in the Cyrus I's seal-legend:

[DIŠ]ʳkuꜗ-ráš / ᴬˢan-za- / an-x- / ra DUMU / še-iš-be- / ʳišꜗ-na

"Cyrus of Anshan, son of Teispes"; or more cautiously as (Quintana, E. 2012, 188):

[v.k]u(?)-ráš h.an-za-an-ir-ra DUMU ?-iš-be-iš-na

While the first half-part of the ku sign had undergone erosions on the surface of the original seal, the –ra sign is the first seen in the fourth line of the legend bellow:
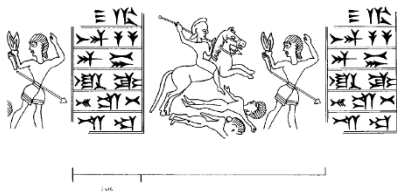
4-13: Drawing of the seal-impression of Cyrus I

In both texts the ending –*ra* denotes Cyrus as an "Achaemenid" and his grandfather as an "Anshanite". This is of Neo-Elamite origin never used in the early Achaemenid literature, except for the Elamite version of CMc and for the second and last time in the "first" written document of Darius, the earliest part of the Bisitun, DBa, engraved in a frame above the Royal relief (the 2nd sign of 2nd line; for full photo, 7-1):

It is crucial that it is even abandoned in the main Elamite version of DB engraved about a year later. The beginning of DBa reads:

"I'm Darius the king, son of Vishtaspa, an Achaemenid";

while "Achaemenid" is rendered in DB [Elamite full] as *ha-ka4-man-nu-ši-ia* :

 "Achaemenid" in the left half of the 2nd line within DB Elamite version

Difference between the first time Darius adopts the title "king" in DBa ("king of kings" comes after "son of Vishtaspa, an Achaemenid", with no "great king" at all), with the second time is significant, when elaborates to call himself "the great king, king of kings, king of the Persians, king of the people", and only then "son of Vishtaspa, an Achaemenid". DBa reflects the Persian Royal tradition early at Darius' reign (a continuation of Cyrus'), still limited to bring "the king" before the dynastic term and nothing further, and is extended within a year to include "the Great king" as well. Thus DBa has followed the usual tradition of CMa, as the Elamite version of the latter reads:

CMa Elamite version (above its transcription; Watters 1996)

with no difference in its titular pattern with that of DBa before the dynastic term. The beginning of the main Elamite text of DB reads (S. A. Parian 2017):

^{diš}u_2 ^{diš}da-ri-ia-ma-⌈u⌉-$iš$ ^{diš}eššana ir-$ša_2$-ir-ra ^{diš}eššana ^{diš}eššana-ip-in-na ^{diš}eššana ^{aš}bar-$šip_x$-ik-ka_4 ^{diš}eššana ^{diš}⌈da⌉-a-⌈u_2-$iš$-be-na⌉ ^{diš}mi-⌈$iš$⌉-da-$aš_2$-ba $ša_2$-ak-ri ^{diš}⌈ir⌉-$ša_2$-ma ^{diš}ru-$uḫ$-$ḫu$-$ša_2$-ak-ri ^{diš}$ḫa$-ka_4-man-nu-$ši$-ia

Even the Akkadian version of DB, the first text to be engraved after DBa and maybe after the first full Elamite version to right of the relief, still begins introducing Darius in the same simple manner and reads "I'm Darius, son of Vishtaspa, an Achaemenid", and only then as "king of kings" and so on (W.C. Benedict & E. von Voitlander 1956):

1. ⌈a-na-ku ^mda-ri-ia-$muš$ $aplu$(A) $šá$ ^m$uš$-ta-as-pi ^ma-$ḫa$-ma-ni-$iš$-'⌉ $šar$ ⌈$šarrāni$(LUGAL.LUGAL⌉.MEŠ) ^{LÚ}par-sa-aia $šar$ ^{KUR}par-su ^mda-ri-ia-$muš$ $šarru$ ki-a-am i-qab-bi at-tu-u-a abu(AD)-u-a ^m$uš$-ta-as-pi abu(AD) $šá$ ^m$uš$-ta-as-pi

All these seem in favor of CMa authenticity, except for a missed king's father name, which is not problematic, as DB is a long, and CMa a seal-like text, usually arranged on simplest grounds without any further details. Its form didn't undergo any change from palace-S to palace-P, while Darius changed his titular setting, extending it from DBa to DB. CMa is used multiple times, a manner expected from a Royal seal.

5-An archaeological-Historical digression

This early origin of CMc Elamite legend forces a *terminus ante quem* on both design of palace-P Royal reliefs and on the own palace completion date at the extreme late phase of the reign of Cyrus. Palace-S may have been completed prior to (Royal Persian departure for his Babylonian campaign at) 539 BC due to its full Assyrian-inspired reliefs without further clues from oriental art elements (appeared shortly in palace-R winged-genius' crown, having already a four-winged feature directly derived from Assyrian Royal Art style). Palace-S construction was among immediate aftermaths of the return of Persian army from its Asia-minor campaign of 547 to 546, with full Ionian elements apparent in both its stone-flooring and columns/column-bases. Stone-pavement and columns stone-cutting of palace-P may have been commenced well prior to 539 BC. Thus when Cyrus returned to Persia in 538 after a full-year absence, the stone-masonry of palace-

P may have been close to its completion. This seems quite feasible due to fractional stone-structure of columns, supposed to be mounted by (now missed) wooden shafts of the same diameter. This significant time-saving scheme should have enabled Cyrus (maybe intentionally) to have a complete palace-P within his lifetime. With this plan the palace may be prepared within couple of years ahead of Royal central Asian campaign. Based on a Master-plan with no intervening additions/alterations as in Persepolis, the Pasargadae project was lower time-consuming than the former due to concentration there more on the "area" through Royal *Paradeisos*.

The antae of doubly-opposite entrance doorways of the main Hall (before intervening corridor through the first and second rows of columns) must be among earliest Architectural features to be installed (following completion of floor and "base" columns), enabling court artisans to start carving four identical profile Royal reliefs at ca. 536/5 BC. These may have been even completed before the start of roofing, thus leaving palace-P completion a feasible task prior to 533 (four-years for later half of the project followed stone operations of the earlier half, presumably with a Royal presence). Palace-P reliefs seem to be restricted to Royal ones, contrary to more miscellaneous palace-S'. In spite of chronological gap of at most a decade, stones used in both for reliefs look of the same origin, weakening current theory of palace-P completion in Darius' reign and suggesting a narrower gap.

5-1: Doubly opposite face-to-face antae of palace-P main hall in the far center (photo by the Author)

Usual theory of an unfinished palace-P (due to a premature death of Cyrus, to be completed later by Darius), is based on its "unfinished" survived column shafts and an "evolved" iconography of Persian reliefs drapery, leaving those of palace-P as later additions. But while wooden column shafts were extensively used (though not survived) in Tacara and Great palace of Susa, none have been so far interpreted as a later usage of wood due to interruption (as it was neither the case there nor in Pasargadae).
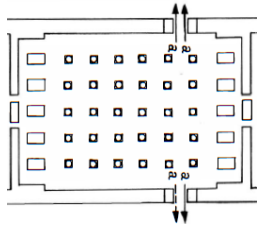
5-2: The main hall of palace-P with its two oppositely located entrance doorways

The Persian drapery of palace-P Royal reliefs (markedly specified by robe's vertical pleats and radial folds) is carefully shown by M. Root (1979) as a feature loaned from Ionian sculptural elements of Lydian Temples, an early case of which being the "sculptured column Drum of the sixth century Temple of Artemis at Ephesus" (Root 1979, 56). Herodotus reports that Croesus donated most of the columns for the Temple (I, 92). Fragments of columns tori with Croesus' dedication proves the reliability of historian's report. Thus "it is clear that already by about 547/6 BC Greek drapery prototypes were available in areas recently fallen within the Persian Empire" (Root, 57). The second evidence is reliefs of Siphnian Treasury at Delphi (of 530-525 interval), *before* which the "Greek sculptors had worked out elaborate, supple drapery schemes incorporating vertical Omega-[shape]-pleats [at their bottom-end] and radial folds as well as parallel vertical pleats stacked in only one direction, in a variety of combinations" (Root 1979, 59). A decisive factor within Cyrus' challenging feats is his promptitude, conspicuous in both military as well as Architectural operations. The latter, of palace-P in particular is usually neglected, due to apparently "unfinished" survived columns, and an assumed "impossibility" of Royal reliefs to be *inscribed* by himself; as if Cyrus was unable to inscribe even in Elamite and Akkadian, just because a Darius was supposed to invent

the OP script later! A misleading tendency of attributing "everything" to Darius has already blemished Persian historiography, even in cases lacking his own claim.
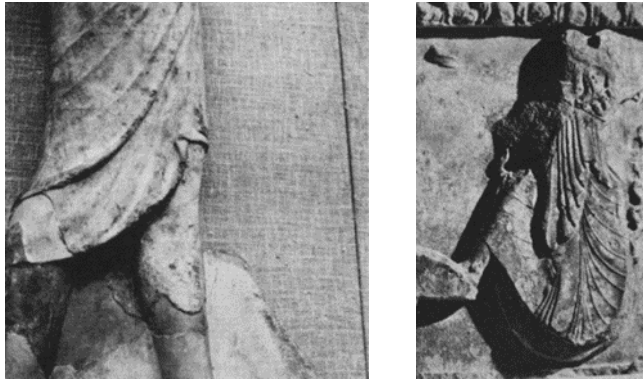
5-3: (left) Column Drum of the Artemis Temple at Ephesus; (right) Reliefs of Siphnian treasury at Delphi from 530-525 BC interval, used *earlier* in Greek sculptural patterns (Root 1979)

Now by conquering Lydia at 546 BC, Cyrus was able to bring all Greek Architectural and sculptural-artistic elements of the conquered realm of Croesus to Pasargadae to be used in palace-S (floor, columns), palace-P (floor, fractionally stoned-columns/column-bases, Royal reliefs), and in palace-R (rosettes multiply engraved on winged genius' robe, a Greek Art element of Samos). "In Pasargadae, as in all Achaemenian art, the sculpture is intimately connected with the Architecture" (Nylander 1970, 121). Thus extensive use of Ionian Architecture in two main palaces parallels with sculptural elements appeared once in palace-P Royal reliefs, in such extent that the original "western" Artistic style finds a context for experiencing its own evolutionary course there within Persian homeland, though "not necessarily by Greek artisans themselves" (Nylander 1970,128ff). Fulfilling classic Royal presentation criteria produced a feature remained the same in Persepolis and just underwent minor developments there. Apart from Art-style evidence, it is the authenticity of CMc legend that points to originality of Royal reliefs. The same minor differences mark a chronological gap, dividing all the Royal Achaemenid "procession" reliefs into 2 distinct categories: the unique (originally 4 identical) case of Pasargadae, and all those of Persepolis, with no drastic changes from Darius onwards (except for crowns). Some features have been enumerated by Root (1979, 52), who identifies them as evidence of belonging palace–P reliefs to the time of Cyrus himself:
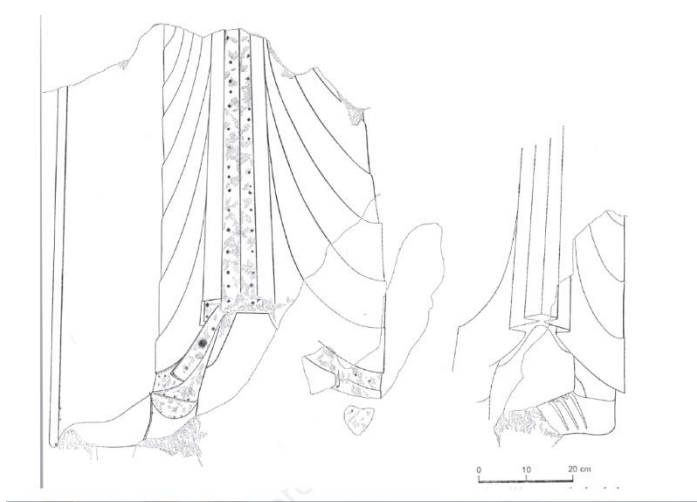
5-4: Drawing of the survived lower third of the relief of Cyrus at palace-P (Stronach, 2017) with no CMc legend shown. Note the Omega-shape of the four-fold pleat termination, preserved in the robe of king's attendant (right), a classic iconographical feature of Persian drapery, common in all Royal and None-Royal reliefs (later a three-dimensional version of which used once in the Egyptian statue of Darius as well)

Absence of toothed chisel marks in palace-P sculptural features (all through Pasargadae), with their clear presence in Persepolitan sculptural monuments (Nylander 1966; 1970); Different undercutting of drapery; Metal attachments on central pleat, sleeve and the shoes of the Royal figure (no holes on Persepolitan Royal reliefs' robes and shoes; Root, 1979 52, 20 f.; metal attachments are attributed to Mesopotamian traditions of divine sculptures; 54).

5-6: Pleats on the Robe of Cyrus' relief, with a (lost) Omega-shaped terminal and holes of metallic attachments

Apart from these rooted in execution and tools, others with origins in general pattern and setting may be identified as well:

(1) Thick prominent edges of the rectangular frame, absent (of whatever width) in later similar procession-scene reliefs of "king and attendants" in Tacara, Hadish, Tripylon,

and Harem, seen just once round the so called treasury "audience" reliefs of a different thematic scene, this time accompanied with multiply engraved rosettes.

5-7: The left edge of the prominent rectangular frame of a Royal relief (right, not shown) and an attendant

(2) A unique disposition of the cuneiform text on the radial folds of sculpted robe itself, instead of on vertical pleats as in both reliefs of Darius and Xerxes, yet with a more peculiar feature of divergently engraved bilingual legends on each oblique fold (fig. 4-12), one in Elamite, another in Akkadian (CMc). This pattern is never repeated later, as in both mentioned reliefs a two-line OP text is inscribed on a vertical pleat to the left of the center, and two single lines of Elamite and Babylonian texts to its right; as is seen below in a relief of Xerxes at Hadish (left):
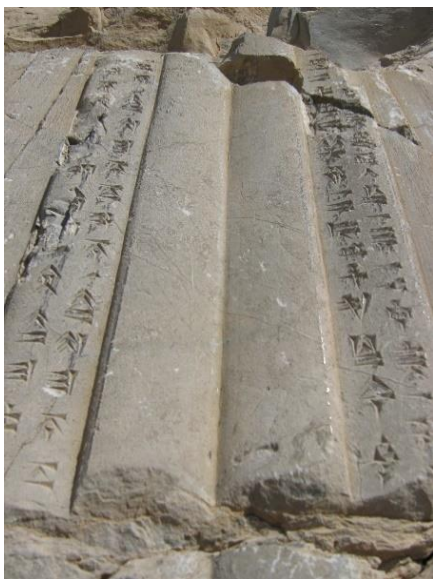
5-8 Robe inscription of the left [by the Author] doesn't belong to the relief at right

(3) It is only at Pasargadae that king is followed by a single attendant (apparently without a parasol), while in all later monuments two attendants follow the king, always with a parasol; as is seen above (right) in another Xerxes relief of Hadish.

Coupled with a Neo-Elamite feature within CMc legend, all these point to originality of palace-P reliefs and their belonging to the time of Cyrus himself. Even if (relatively improbably) the palace was left unfinished at end of Cyrus' reign, the most probable juncture for its completion would be the 530 to 525 BC interval by Cambyses (prior to his Egyptian campaign), and not by Darius, who while enumerating 23 subject nations of the Empire in DB, never names its founder (except elsewhere naming him as father of his both dead (/killed?) sons, an inevitable reference with no significant relevance). He would have left blank the Antae of palace-P at best, as did the same by adding nothing to surfaces in both Palaces, already containing a CMa inscription:

Palace-S copy of CMa with a mostly blank surface left

The extant text of CMc is a bilingual with legends inscribed at the lower third of the figure, a usual place to inscribe texts in Achaemenid court-style art, though with its own unique setting. Perhaps CMc had been bilingual from the outset, or if not, its OP version was more compact than the rest two, as its probable candidate contains an OP

logogram for "king"; suggested from a fragment discovered far from the reliefs, at the edge of palace area (still not proved to belong to each of the reliefs):
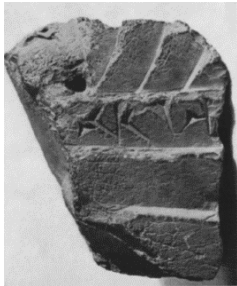
5-9: A single fragmentary found piece of the OP version of CMc at the edge of palace area, with negligible fractions of both vertical pleats and oblique folds (rotated here 90 degrees counterclockwise)

It probably belongs to the CMc group of robe texts, but its location at the outer fold of the sleeve is rare, if not unique, this time pointing it to be a later addition of anyone who committed to make all inscriptions trilingual. Logograms were used much later in OP texts, the imposed use of which here was due to a lack of space left on the relief, compelling the scribe to engrave the legend on an unusual location. Both cases of a bilingual or trilingual CMc (with a later added OP) suggest that the original legend was engraved at an early time immediately followed the carving of the relief. With two Elamite and Babylonian legends engraved on two geometrically key positions, the only reasonable location was vertical pleats with their already attached golden strips. Thus there remained no choice for an assumed later scribe to use not only a logogram, but also to inscribe on an unconventional spot. The bilingual CMc, naming "Cyrus, the great king, an Achaemenid", with an inevitable gap of at least two decades for a (not so) probable OP version to be added, is therefore an authentic inscription of Cyrus.

As long as coverage of (a decade) time-span compatible with a full palace-P project was at Cyrus own disposal, there remains no need whatsoever to assume it to be left unfinished at 530 BC. Contrary to an otherwise "premature" natural death in his homeland, Cyrus probably left Persia for the last time towards north-eastern Iranian plateau based on a deliberate plan of central Asian (following previous east-Iranian) campaign, and not emergently so as to merely react to activities of Massagetae, the region's nomadic people. That ultimate conflict should probably be *a consequence* of

the previous phases of the same central-Asian conquest (of Bactria-Sogdiana, up to Cyropolis in the northernmost spot there). The final ill-fated war was by no means the sole goal of such superb long-range operation with no further significant military gain. Thus Cyrus' Persian departure of ca. 531 BC should be a deliberate measure based on a number of factors, among which the age and physical conditions for a couple of following years, strategic military considerations, and completion of Royal residence were the foremost. Thus palace-P wouldn't have been abandoned "prematurely" by its founder. Its construction might be commenced as early as 540 BC when floorings of palace-S and palace-R had been certainly ended. Thus a combined schedule of Cyrus' major military and Architectural operations (though not of direct Archaeological relevance) convinces us to conclude that palace-P was completed during the lifetime of its owner, providing further clues to authenticity of his inscriptions.

6-The relevance of Bisitun

Last seemingly problematic issues are directly related to both relief and inscriptions of Bisitun. No trace whatsoever of palace-P reliefs is seen in the former's Royal garment, leading people to judge that the latter were none-existent at 520 BC when Bisitun relief was engraved. No doubt the iconography of Royal garment was influenced at this early phase by original Greeks on a conscious Cyrus' will from 546 BC onwards, as argued above. Darius hasn't adopted the palace-P reliefs' patterns, and his figure's garment at Bisitun looks more directly Greek-influenced than others carved (earlier or later) within conglomerate standard "Persian" context; in other words it seems that Bisitun falls rather out of the usual evolutionary course of Persian Royal iconography. Thus it is usually deduced that the standard Persian iconography was evolved directly from Bisitun by assuming further elements, leading ultimately to formation of the classic Persian drapery of Darius, who allegedly carved reliefs in palace-P with that Persian pattern in "honor" of Cyrus (the same job Darius would have never done; as argued).

But this is not more than a pseudo-discrepancy. Darius didn't adopt the palace-P prototypes, and refused also to adopt the alternate choice, the Elamite robe of palace-R winged genius relief, as if neither he nor his court artists had ever seen Royal palaces

within his first turbulent year. No doubt he had already seen, either as a spear-bearer of Cambyses or very briefly as a new king still without a residential capital of his own, but perhaps with neither time nor opportunity for a meticulous observation due to 19 battles against revolted subject nations in a 521 to early 520 BC interval, and a long concatenate Persian absence, no Pasargadae-inspired element appears at Bisitun (see below however). Three battles against the local rebel Vahyazdata in Persian homeland (where he declared himself as "king"), covering a long span of Dec. 522 to Jul. 521, must then have prevented Darius from a usual deployment in Persia and in Pasargadae in particular. It may alternatively be possible that all these would not prevented him from adaptation of palace-P/palace-R prototypes in Bisitun; as a "normal" capital residence was possible from early 520 to its mid-spring when carving the monumental relief has started. He should be even fervent to adopt so as to link himself as much as possible to his Great predecessor, provided to find it appropriate (which was not however): Darius' gesture at Bisitun relief (with spear- and bow-bearers behind) is semi-warlike against both a vanquished Gaumata and 9 already executed leaders of disobedient nations (except for the last). This differs drastically from that of a king who is to enter his residential-palace with one or two attendants followed him holding a parasol over his head. Darius has purposely left the latter choice for his forthcoming reliefs and employed those features on appropriate cases several times. Xerxes did so much more and in a more elegant manner; to be reached its climax at Tripylon reliefs of Xerxes and/or Artaxerxes. It is also well-known that Darius has modelled from a Mesopotamian relief containing his favorite motif to be appeared at Bisitun, namely that of Anubanini, a lullubian king of Akkadian period at *Sar-e Pol-e Zohab* (earliest Rock-relief in Iran; 2300 BC; for a review of its Bisitun relevance, Rollinger 2016). Royal dress drapery of palace-P reliefs was by no means a match for the scene supposed to be implemented, and the lower half of Bisitun Royal dress has been copied closely from that of the lullubian.

Pasargadae should be a most probable Darius resident within a 519-512 BC interval however, and if everything was to be forged there by a full usurper, it would be texts inscribed there in his "own" name, and not of Cyrus', so as to blur last documented memory of the latter, and not a revival of his name in whatever amiss way.

6-1: A modern drawing of the actual relief of Anubanini, as a model adopted for Bisitun relief

Many Architectural-Artistic elements are derived from their original counterparts in Pasargadae, being implemented in a more developed manner in Persepolis, including:
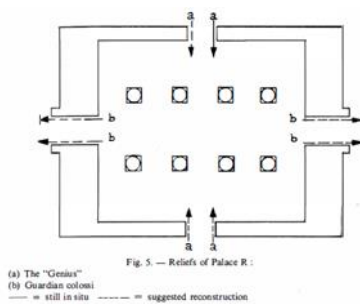
6-1: Cross-section of palace-R and its doorways (from M. Root 1979)

(1)Square audience halls (developed from Pasargadae Rectangular counterparts); (2) Griffins of the Gate of all nations, derived from colossal winged-bull guardian figures once stood outwardly at palace-R doorways; (3) Palatial porticoes derived from those of palace-S and P with their colonnade setting; (4) King and attendant procession-scenes, derived from palace-P originals; (5) Trilingual inscriptions of Tacara and Hadish (DPa, XPe), inscribed as extended versions of and developed from the seal pattern of multiply identical CMa counterparts; (6)Winged-disk figure of Bisitun, derived from a potential divinely conceptual forerunner of winged-genius, only case there with a probable Pasargadae origin within another Assyrian shape; (7) Animal scenes derived from Assyrian-inspired those of palace-S, being developed (together with original Assyrians) in to full Persian motifs; (8)"Fourfold" Persian Gardens, all ultimately derived from that of Cyrus, the archetype of later Achaemenid *paradeisos*; (9) Terrace of Persepolis,

derived from stone-block platform of *Tall-e Takht*; and (10)Rosette ornamental motif, multiply engraved on the edge of winged genius' robe.
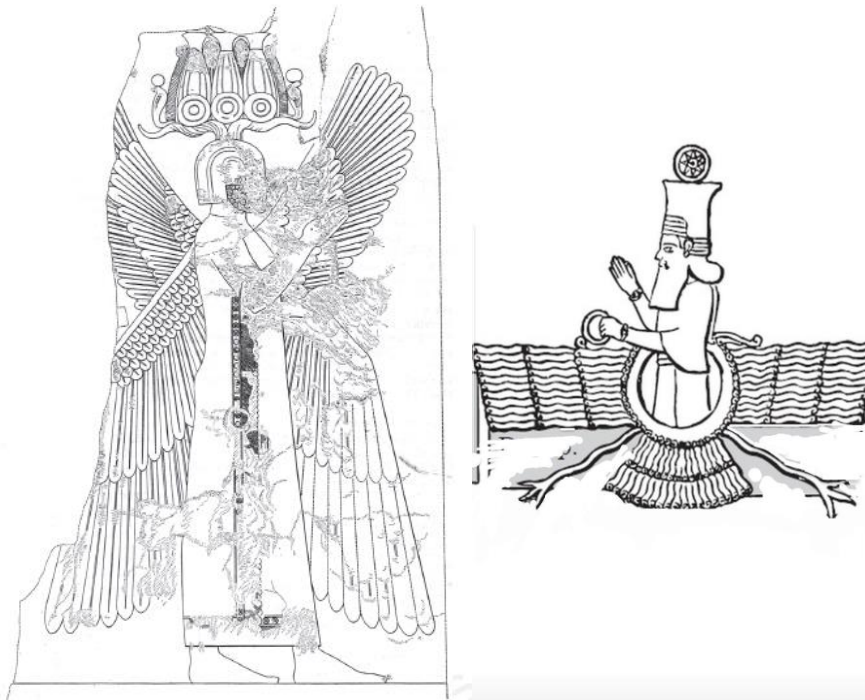
6-2: Winged-genius, multiply engraved with rosettes on its robe's vertical edge; Bisitun Winged-disk, doubly-twisted tail of which of the same shape as the former crown's double horn, except for its threefold ending

7-Paragraph 70 of DB and its Elamite version:

What "didn't exist before"?

The literature on the origin of OP script is both great and overwhelmingly in favor of a Bisitun precedence over all other trilingual Achaemenid inscriptions and of a Darius as the inventor of the script, owing to his key phrase in DB70. This implicitly (and recently explicitly) denies Cyrus authorship of a single line of inscription at Pasargadae or everywhere else, except for an undeniable Babylonian set of inscriptions, the Cyrus cylinder being the foremost. There he states "I saw an inscription of a former king, Assurbanipal". What would thus prevent a charismatic world conqueror from sealing his name and title on his own palaces, as a variety of Royal inscriptions of Assyrian,

Babylonian, Elamite, Lydian, and Urartian predecessors were no doubt among his foremost visual priorities. This may not even be subjected to bypass a "Babylonian conquest" constraint, as Elam (a "bilingual culture"; Nylander 1967) and Assyria (already within the former Median realm), had hitherto been annexed years prior to Babylon, enabling the Royal chancellery to engrave inscriptions in Elamite and Akkadian. This leaves the bilingual CMc as original, as argued above.

A naïve interpretation of the "Elamite" version of DB P70 (its own Paragraph 55) implies that there Darius points to an inaugural usage of OP script, stating "I brought the other text in Aryan, which existed formerly neither on clay nor on parchment"[and not "didn't exist before" as once adduced to denote introduction of OP script]. Its exact meaning is rather poorly known (maybe due to be grammatically awkward) and the phrase is variously translated and interpreted. Its essence however looks definitely related to inscribing a multilingual text through an unprecedented process of invoking an unnamed Aramaic (*lingua franca* of Persian Empire) as a medium (No other ancient language is named at its own time). Its use on parchment and clay (*utā pavastāya uta carmā*) coincided with diplomatic ambitions of Persian Empire with its plenty of spoken languages of subject people. The phrase in question is perhaps related to the first time Royal proclamations were made through a medium language as well as others on a (multi-)nationwide scale.

The original content was presumably Darius' own words uttered in OP, then to be translated into Aramaic and inscribed through the same script "on parchment and clay" (as a papyrus including an Aramaic DB is found in Elephantine), and then (1) either sent to farthest *dahyāvah,* to be translated there into local languages (e.g. Akkadian, as two fragmentary stone-samples have been found in Babylon) (2) or to be used, earlier than the first, by bilingual/trilingual scribes at Bisitun itself, who translated it to Elamite and Akkadian, as one sees those copies today. These preceded the appearance of OP version there, as its script hadn't been yet fully developed (it was included then just 12 elementary signs of CMa, impractical for a further use in a full text). The script was finally used for inscribing the OP version, bypassing to be inscribed on parchment and clay, as it was then once done through Aramaic to convey the message to subject people;

and as perhaps scribes used a "manuscript" OP *in Aramaic script*, to be copied there in OP cuneiform. "Writing Aramaic on papyrus or on parchment was much easier than impressing Elamite/Akkadian on clay tablets" (Bae, Chul-Hyun, 2003; End of a simplified version of his detailed study of the subject, with slight variations).

 The second "problem" appears in the corresponding phrase in OP version of DB P70, wherein the key word, **dipiciçam*, is just a reconstruction due to an eroded original. It is interpreted either as an "inscribed copy" or a "form of writing" ("script"; the former is adopted here). Thus DP70 reads:

θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya vašnā Auramazdāha ima *dipi[c]i[çam] taya
adam akunavam patišam ariyā uftā pavastāy[ā] utā carmā *gra[ftam āha
*pat]išam[c]iy *[nāmanā]fam akunavam *pa[t]iša[m **u]vādā[tam akuna-]
va[m] utā *niyapai[θ]i[ya u]tā patiyafraθiya paišiyā mā[m] pasā[va] ima
*dipi[ciça]m f[r]āstāyam vi[s]padā aⁿtar dahayā[v]a kāra *hamā[t]axšatā

The key phrase here means (based on an argument of Huyse 1999, 46ff):

"This is the copy I inscribed moreover (?) in Aryan; [otherwise] had been impressed both on clay [tablets] and on parchment".

One sees differences in Elamite and OP versions. Firstly the basic concept behind the Elamite expression, namely "neither, nor" motif, once rendered as "didn't exist before" (arbitrarily attributed to hitherto none-existent OP script) is absent in the very same OP version for which the Elamite seems is referring to. Shouldn't this be emphasized more over in the OP version with its apparently "invented" script? It seems that either the Elamite version is referring to something specific to its own text, or that OP version is brought somehow too abridged due to then a complicated concept of an intermediate Aramaic involvement, as if it is inherent within a more compact vocabulary setting. The issue is not still settled, and while the original Hinz "translation" of P70's Elamite version has undergone alterations (if not being refuted), its basic ingredient, namely the invention of OP script by Darius has enjoyed a consensus among scholars, though this time with just a stipulation on Darius' "Aryan [script?]" reference. It seems that the main intended discrimination was between "Aryan" and an unnamed Aramaic (so the former "[otherwise] impressed on clay and parchment"), and not with the rest two (Elamite

and Akkadian, left unnamed as well). Even a reference to Aryan with whatever intention doesn't necessarily deny any earlier meager "fractionally used" OP script by Cyrus; as Darius has a tendency to show off his own priority in cases with a clear precedent originality of Cyrus (conqueror of 23 *dahyāva* then to be divinely bestowed to him; among predecessors who didn't match for his 19 victories; whose name is blurred within the might of "Achaemenids", otherwise would not have signified more than a local clan) and Cambyses (naming himself and not the former as who "conquered Egypt from Persia"[DZc, 3]).

 Bisitun is no doubt a forerunner of all OP texts, except for a very brief seal-like text of CMa with just 12 "simple" signs and a word-divider. It seems quite possible that the whole usage of OP script in the reign of Cyrus was limited to CMa, but in much more identical cases than what appears today (maybe up to 30 cases in three palaces, versus just two extant copies). The more the number of original copies, the less becomes probable for them to be a later addition of Darius (noted by Nylander 1967). He was clever enough not to obliterate his own alleged "invention", moreover by fabricating a dynastic name of his own for no less a figure than Cyrus. When inscribing Bisitun at 520 BC with frequent references to the Royal house of Achaemenids (also that of Cambyses as he says explicitly, and of Cyrus as implied), Darius wasn't more than a 30 years-old former high-ranked officer recently ascended to kingship by whatever trick, still too far from his stature enjoyed from the end of his reign up to contemporary era, second just to none other than Cyrus, and thus was unable to falsify a key Royal familial kinship then before eyes of six more or less (formerly) co-ranked noble Persians, at such early time of his reign in particular. It would be more logical and efficient for him to deny any such link with the "former" dismantled dynasty, and merely announce himself as an undisputable founder of his own. It seems much less probable for him to engrave fake inscriptions at Pasargadae couple of years later, while all were settled in his favor and was little need for further justification of his claim.

 Negating the attribution of Pasargadae inscriptions to their nominal owner is due to a "doubtful" inclusion of the term Achaemenid and their OP version of a supposedly "later" time. If Cyrus was indeed unable to "sign" his own palaces even in Elamite and

Akkadian, let alone in OP, Darius could declare himself as not merely the first to inscribe in OP (as is asserted he did), and rather as the first "Aryan" king to engrave inscriptions of any sort within the homeland. He never did so, and instead has left us a number of cases where he refers to his unprecedented measures; the most salient of which is reflected in DZc (digging the Egyptian canal) and DPf, an (again!) Elamite text inscribed on southern Persepolis Terrace. There he expounds on the feat:
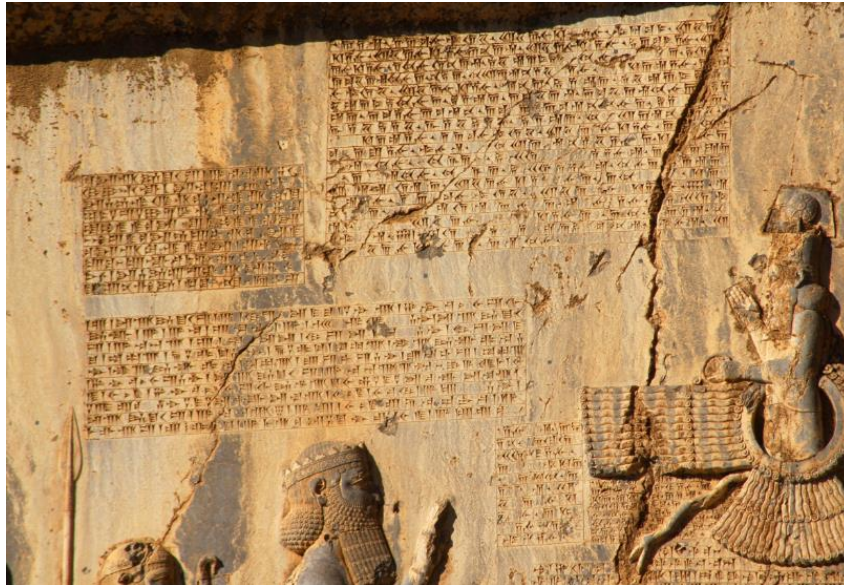
7-1: Earliest components of Bisitun engraved over Darius' figure: first the DBa, Elamite version of the opening part of DB (immediate above); Elamite equivalent of OP DB70 (above the former with a smaller frame) with its reference to "Aryan" [script?]; and OP version of DBa with alterations made in king's titles (above right)

 "As for the fact that upon this place this fortress was built, formerly here a fortress had not been built. By the grace of Ahuramazda I built this fortress. And Ahuramazda was of such a vise, together with all diving beings, that this fortress (should) be built. And (so) I built it. And I built it secure and beautiful and adequate, just as I was intending to" (Schmidt, E. F. 1953, 63).

Two "equivalent" OP and Elamite phrases of DB P70 on a rather confused issue of "inscribing in Aryan" seems modest compared with this elaborately commissioned text. It seems that if the main motif of P70 was the invention of the script, Darius would treat the issue in much more detail than these two brief mentions, each within a single line, in a rather poorly understood and not equivalent manner. It is becoming increasingly clear that the main subject of P70 is somehow related to the manner with

which the "Aryan" text has been copied and inscribed from an original in Aramaic script (derived from an oral OP), "previously" impressed on "clay and parchment".

8-CMa and CMc: both, one, or none?

So far CMc looks a more likely authentic candidate than CMa, as it is a bilingual with no full OP version, a probable fragment of which not only contains a logogram, but also apparently has once been engraved on an unsuitable position of the Royal relief; both implying for it to be a much later addition. Furthermore, a doubly-symmetrical setting of the Akkadian and Babylonian legends makes them part of a highly probable original pattern without any OP version by intention for whatever reason. Thus its content should be original and not to be a later fabrication of anyone who intended to exploit a better part of the name Cyrus, i.e. its charismatic fame, to be attached to his own lineal designation: it was a genuine clan or lineal appellation from the outset. Moreover, engraving the legend at such an inconspicuous place (close to the bottom of the king's robe, with a very fine sign-setting) worked only for its true owner, and would not for anyone else, an assumed forger in particular (The focus right now is on Achaemenid descend of Cyrus as reflected in CMc, and not necessarily on initiator of OP).

It is CMa that looks more susceptible to be identified as forgery; since it contains an OP as well as further Elamite and Akkadian versions, and as it lacks two features just seen once in Bisitun and nowhere else: word-dividers at both the beginning and the end of the text (withdrawn later as being unnecessary), and a specific shape of *ya* syllable

𐎹, "changed" in immediate developments to 𐎹 and never attested again (CMa enjoys both features of later inscriptions). This latter one cannot be necessarily a "development" and may just be a chirographic feature specific to scribe, as nowhere else in whole of the OP signs a change of a half-wedge to a full-wedge gives rise a change in sign's character. The general shape is the same in both cases up to a minute deviation in Bisitun, denoting to nothing more significant than a specific "hand-writing" adopted there. A possible explanation for this may be rooted in one (out of the two) calligraphic errors occurred in just total of four short lines of the two extant copies of CMa, where

a ⊠ sign is erroneously inscribed instead of a true ⊠. The scribe of the palace-P copy of CMa has committed a blunder by impressing the third wedge with a 90-degrees of clockwise rotation. Perhaps the Royal chancellery decided to exert a minor change in the shape of *ya* sign by halving the length of its beginning wedge (to avoid a probable occurrence of the same blunder by the scribe *from the outset*). CMa was originally engraved multiple times (maybe up to 30) and perhaps similar error had been occurred in couple of further cases. The very occurrence of gross errors in just four lines of extant copies of CMa can be interpreted as denoting to an elementary phase of the script's genesis.

8-1: The OP version of palace-P copy of CMa with an erroneously inscribed third sign of the second line

Such elementary "change" of sign (from Bisitun to later inscriptions) can't be convincingly adduced as a firm criterion for an assumed priority of a text (It could, however in absence of a more rigorous evidence). The same argument holds for the first above mentioned case; as the same Bisitun-behavior is seen at least once much later in the OP version of XPe, where a word-divider is impressed at the end of the text. Interestingly it is repeated at least in two further cases of XPe in Hadish, above the relief of Xerxes:
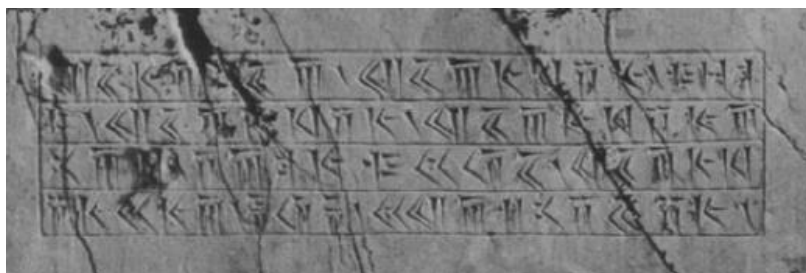
8-2: A word-divider impressed at the end of the OP text of XPe in Hadish where space admitted, similar to one appeared at end of each frame in Bisitun, rarely seen in later inscriptions

Every seal-like text such as CMa was usually inscribed in most compact way, thus without an unnecessary word-divider at beginning and end of the legend. A 15-years gap separated Bisitun from the last time a copy of CMa was inscribed at palace-P,

apparently with no further activity of the Royal chancellery in between. Thus by 520 BC, when inscribing at Bisitun has begun, and after an elapse of ten turbulent years, half of which without a Royal presence (Cambyses & Darius), scribes needed to review, if not "rediscover" the content of CMa OP version; and after mastering the issue, finding a number of confusing errors and obviating the dilemma, it was quite probable that a number of minor changes were made so as to avoid reappearance of blunders. This is a probable scenario, as clues from two extant copies of CMa show that their original scribes were perhaps either Elamite or Babylonian, and not necessarily masters of a yet to be fully developed OP; as two other versions have been inscribed more maturely than the latter. It seems that scribes of the OP version, either Elamite or Babylonian, impressed the brief text just by trusting to their "photographic memory". In other words, they were not literate of OP, as its signs were still fractionally coined and used. Inscribing DB OP version, on the other hand, should be started after both completion of the whole set of signs as well as preparing a number of professional scribes of OP. While the former may took a very brief time-span (even several days to a couple of weeks at most), the latter demanded a much longer period, justifying the observed fact that the OP version of Bisitun has been inscribed lately, just after all other versions were already inscribed. But it seems that the idea was quite present from the outset, and the designer of the whole scene, maybe Darius himself, had reserved the most significant place, bellow the main relief, for the OP version with its more needed surface due to its semi-alphabetic nature. Thus the observed priority of engraving the Elamite version (instead of the expected OP) wasn't due to absolute none-existence of the latter, but more to preparation of a team of professional scribes after completion of the sign-list itself. P71 of the monolingual OP version in the fifth column (up to its final P76) begins with a decisive statement that "this is what I did in the second and third years after I became king". It means not only that the previous rest (P1-70) covers the first year events (as is clearly stated there), but also that if P1-70 was to be engraved years after 2 other versions due to its script needed to be "invented", it should have included at least the 2nd year events as well (which lacks). Thus engraving of OP was followed those of the Elamite and Akkadian versions within several months and no more. Nothing contradicts a

start of OP version before completion of the second Elamite version to its left, itself to be completed well before reaching of the former to its P70 however, as its Elamite counterpart (P55) has been brought separately above the Royal relief and not within its main text that terminates at (the equivalent of) OP P69.

The last point with a Bisitun relevance is trilingual setting, which seems to be a none-existent concept from the beginning and developed later after inscribing the OP version; though without its "geometrical" priority, as observed in later inscriptions and in CMa as well. But not only the latter's text is seal-like (with a straightforward trilingual setting), but also this three-fold structure is not even fully respected in later "detailed" inscriptions as one sees in a set of DP texts inscribed at Persepolis southern Terrace: there DPd (in OP), DPe (in OP), DPf (in El.), and DPg (in Akk.) have been inscribed side by side from left to right, *each with their own subject,* i.e. none is a translation of the another; while the pattern is clearly respected almost everywhere within brief legends and texts. Thus it cannot be judged that the regular three-fold setting of CMa is a later development; it was just due to its very simple structure. The whole set of CMa texts have been inscribed within a decade (ca. 544 to 534 BC), and an evolutionary line of progress is observable in their frame-setting and in the quality of cuneiform signs engraving as well. While the palace-S copy (among earliest to be inscribed) has three independent long rectangular frames for each version, the palace-P copy (among latest) has a single rectangular frame, being divided to the same three parts within its surface. This is one of the basic fact denoting to their authenticity.
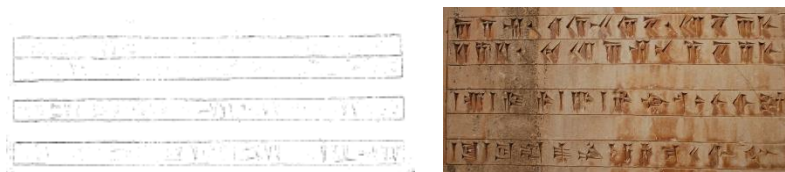
8-3: Geometrical setting of the palace-S copy of CMa with its three independent frames (left). In palace-P copy these frames are connected to each other to form a single, to be partitioned afterwards (right)

The setting of CMa OP version looks to have been designed prior to its engraving on some deliberated considerations, as e.g. both lines end with a *ya* sign, first in middle of the word for "king", then at the end of the term "Achaemenid". This seems to be a

symmetrical design set for a seal legend to be rendered as regulated as possible, rather analogous to modern signatures, though within an elementary cuneiform context. Contrary to most inscriptions, no space is left blank within two lines, at its end in particular. Starting with an exclusive two-wedged sign, the Royal name enjoys a compact-symmetrical pattern with a middle *ru* sign flanked by two identical *u*. None is possible for the same name in other two versions due to their fully syllabic nature. It is rendered in the DB Akkadian version in two distinct three- and two-syllable forms of 𒁹𒆪𒊏𒀸 *(m)Ku-ra-aš* and 𒁹𒆪𒊑 *(m)Ku-raš*, while there in the OP version appears only as genitive, deferring from its original as in CMa. The full name is also flanked in middle of the 1ˢᵗ line of CMa OP version by 3 and 4 signs from either side (fig. 2-1). All these symmetry settings would not have been respected by an assumed forger.

9-Pasargadae-Achaemenid parallelism

While Cyrus has never mentioned his capital in a text, the name was certainly his own choice (for good reasons), and can be understood as a parallel to his clan's name, a lineal designation as well. In other words, as Cyrus has definitely picked Pasargadae (noblest of three Persian tribes he originally united) to name his capital, picking a next subdivision within the same tribe sounds another natural choice of him. He refers to Achaemenid in his multiply stamped seal-like inscription at Pasargadae (capital with a namesake tribe, "from which spring Achaemenids and all Persian kings"; Herodotus I, 125). The two can be considered as parallels, belonging to a sequential labelling within Persian ethnic hierarchy. (By naming his ceremonial capital Persepolis, Darius also follows the same tradition of Cyrus for his own while adopting in a wider sense the ethnic name of the Persians, bypassing a clan or tribal attribution, while encompassing both). The legend "I'm Cyrus, the king, an Achaemenid", brought in trilingual legends of CMa, is coincided with the old Iranian tradition as reflected in a well-known younger Avestan phrase mentioned earlier (and never as "Zoroaster son of Pouroshaspa"). Cyrus I is introduced in his seal as "Anshanite, son of Teispes" in an Elamite scribal tradition as the Persian-Elamite acculturation was still ongoing and thus the Elamite element preponderates there. His grandson Cyrus the Great is also introduced in his Babylonian cylinder text as "king of

[city] of Anshan, son of Cambyses", with two further ancestors included as well in an Akkadian scribal tradition, though not necessarily pure Akkadian. It is at CMa that the first version of Persian tradition appears in its simplest form by far.

At the end of his first year, Darius found his kingship claim guarantied and decided to propagate its details through Bisitun. With no inheritor of Cyrus alive for whatever reason, he substituted the *unnecessary* and none-existent direct kinship of the former Great king with his (i.e. Cyrus') lineal designation, the Achaemenid. **It was the former who attempted to attach himself to an *authentic* lineal designation of the latter, and not as is usually assumed, to confiscate the Royal authority of Cyrus for his own house designation.** A recently ascended king wasn't able to coin his clan's name as a "new" Royal designation, unless to announce clearly the collapse of former dynasty. Darius didn't do so, as he belonged to the same family, though not of direct Royal branch.

10- Epilogue: a Babylonian discrepancy

The controversial issue of Cyrus' titles adopted in his Babylonian inscriptions ("king of the world", "king of lands", the latter being added with the phrase "powerful king am I") and his modest "king" designation (in CMa) is usually perceived as a later Darius' involvement to fabricate a consanguinity with an "intentionally diminished" Cyrus. It is paradoxical however so long as historical evidence is either poorly grasped or partially-selectively investigated, leaving us no more than a Pseudo-reality. Apart from literary tradition of Babylonian Royal inscriptions and the seal-text nature of CMa, it was perhaps Cyrus' heroic mentality that led him to assume peculiar far-reaching policies reflected in a biblical *messiah*, a protagonist of *Cyropaedia,* and in the "nation's father" of "father of history" in his *Histories.* While investigating Pasargadae Architectural program, Carl Nylander writes (1970, 116):

"Cyrus had no doubt seen the vast Elamite and Mesopotamian palaces with their heavy walls and their labyrinths of rooms and corridors around open courts. We don't know what he felt about these colossal, city-like places with their lack of clarity and simplicity. What we know [however] is that he, the heir to Mesopotamian and Elamite kingships, rejected them for his own residence".

The same holds for his titles adopted in the homeland: Multiple of identical seal-texts inscribed on door-jams of his two relatively modest palaces, ultimately giving rise to a "Great king" legend neatly and finely impressed on his four identical reliefs, all within a *paradeisos*-dominated capital; A blend of Persian authority and a nontrivial personal mentality yet to be deciphered.

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